27th November 1928] [Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao]

of the districts. The first is the upland regions. Not only does he give his own opinion but also gives the opinion of Mr. Clarke who agreed with him. The Revenue Board would not accept that opinion. The Government upheld the Board of Revenue's view and levied a percentage enhancement of 33⅓ per cent at the last resettlement. With all these he comes to the conclusion holding as he does that the classification was particularly wrong, holding as he does that the upland territories were badly touched by this wrong classification, holding as he does that the wet areas in the upland regions have been very wrongly classified, that an increase may be made in the settlement rate for the uplands. Again, he shows very great consideration for Kolair lake regions and he describes those regions in minute detail as to how he is anxious to show sympathy for the people of the inundated Kolair lake regions who are suffering for want of drainage facilities. He says all this, but when he comes to the conclusion he changes his opinion and says 'I shall adjust the enhancement of rent in such a manner as to make the Government not to lose one pie of what they were previously getting'."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will continue his speech to-morrow."

The House then adjourned for lunch.

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.)

XIII

ADJOURNMENT MOTION *RE* THE APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

* Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" Mr. President, I beg to move that the business of the House be adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, to wit, the policy recently adopted by the Government in regard to recent appointments in the Registration department.

" In raising a discussion on the recent instructions of the Government issued in regard to the Registration service, it is not my intention or my desire to rouse the dormant communal feelings of communities or castes. It is my desire that justice should be meted out to those who are already in service irrespective of caste, creed or religion. It is, therefore, my earnest wish that hon. Members of this Council should view this question dispassionately without importing communal considerations beyond what is essentially required. It is necessary that this question should be viewed firstly from the point of view whether the Local Government have complied with the spirit and even the letter of the Government of India Act in regard to the services and also whether the power delegated to them to make rules has been properly used. Though the Local Government obtained power from the Secretary of State for India to make rules by delegation as early as 1926, no such rules were to our knowledge made till so late as September 1928.

" Under the provisions of section 90-B (2) of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State for India reserves to himself the power to make rules with regard to all services and to delegate such powers either to Local Government or to the Legislature. In virtue of this provision, the rules

[Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti] [27th November 1928

regulating the All-India services have already been made by the Secretary of State for India, and the Local Government has been delegated to make rules in regard to Provincial Services. The Local Government has, under Delegation Rules, 1926, therefore, the power to make rules subject, however, to the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, being required in the making up of first appointments to a Provincial service otherwise than on the result of a competitive examination or on the advice of a permanent Board of Selection appointed by Local Government or the Public Service Commission established in accordance with the provisions of section 96-C of the Government of India Act.

"For the first time we see that the rules framed by the Local Government to regulate the conditions of service, pay, allowances and pensions, in regard to Registration service were published in their order dated 3rd September 1928. From a perusal of these rules and conditions, it is evident that the Government did not introduce communal standards either in recruitment or in promotion. They distinctly say that promotion to selection grade shall be for approved service of more than ordinary merit and no officer shall be entitled to promotion to that grade merely on the ground of seniority. It is, therefore, distinctly on the basis of approved service of more than ordinary merit, that a person becomes entitled to promotion. If the Government had really intended to make provision for communal considerations, they should have faced the question even at this stage of the registration service and thus obtained the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council; either because they were not hopeful of the Governor-General-in-Council giving sanction to rules containing provisions for communal considerations or otherwise, the fact is significant that they did not make provision for communal considerations in the cadre of District Registrars.

"I suggest therefore that the Governor-General-in-Council has refused sanction being given to any rules which make provision for making appointments or promotions, otherwise than on the result of competitive examination or on the recommendation of a permanent Board of Selection or of the Public Service Commission, that is to be established. I suggest further that the Governor-General-in-Council is not willing to vest in the Local Government the power of distributing the offices without laying down certain definite conditions even when such appointments or promotions are sought to be made on communal considerations. While it is not my intention to protest against the action of the Government in making provision for unrepresented or inadequately represented communities in the services, it is my desire that such representation should be subject to certain intelligible and permanent considerations, which will apply to all services. Therefore, while so far as the rules laid down for the District Registrars are concerned, nothing could be said against it. I regret that the Local Government is attempting to circumvent the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council by making such rules in the subordinate services so as to result in the communal considerations having a large influence and effect over the Provincial service of District Registrars without letting the Governor-General-in-Council know of the intentions of the Local Government. You will find from the instructions issued in regard to the selection grade of Sub-Registrars that the recruitment and promotions are to be made on purely communal considerations.

27th November 1928] [Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti]

"In the first place, it is my contention that the appointment on the selection grade from the upper grade Sub-Registrars is not initial recruitment but promotion from one cadre to another. In this contention, I am fortified by the original letter of recommendation of the Inspector-General of Registration in requesting the Government to create a separate cadre and also by the speech made by hon. the Minister for Public Health when asking in this Council for sanction of the grant. The Inspector-General of Registration in his letter, dated 7th July 1928, points out the lack of prospects of promotions of Sub-Registrars to those of the District Registrars compared with chances and emoluments obtained in other departments of the Government and makes a recommendation that a separate selection grade should be created to which persons of approved service, who could not in the ordinary course of things get a chance of becoming District Registrars, should be appointed, from which selected cadre vacancies in the District Registrars' posts may be filled up. It is because Sub-Registrars most senior in service cannot under the existing state of things have reasonable chance to become District Registrars, this selection grade was intended to benefit them. There was no suggestion then of such selection being made on communal considerations, and again the hon. the Minister for Public Health in his speech, dated 28th March 1928, said that the creation of the cadre will enable the persons who put in 25 years of service to draw a salary of Rs. 200 to Rs. 250. Even then there was no hint that this selection would be made otherwise than on approved service and merit.

"It is, therefore, clear that these selections are *prima facie* promotions and not initial recruitment whatever reasons there might be for the initial recruitment being made on communal considerations. Such a selection on communal consideration in an existing service is not calculated to allay discontent, the one prime consideration on which the Inspector-General of Registration recommended this selection of cadre. You will find from the list of persons promoted to the selection grade that persons, who were very much below in rank, were allowed to supersede those who were higher in rank. It seems to me very unjust that persons, who put in only 4, 5 and 9 years of service, were allowed to rank higher than those who had put in 25 years of service. This kind of supersession engenders in the service a sort of malignant feeling, the poignancy of which it is difficult for us, who are not in the service, to really appreciate. Persons in the service render faithful work in the hope that their services will be rewarded in course of time, little expecting that their hopes will be ruthlessly destroyed by no fault of theirs, but by the fact of their birth. It seems to me we are creating in them a feeling of disgust of their parentage. Apart from this, there is another injustice, perhaps unconsciously done. The selection is to be made on the basis of 5 Non-Brahmans, 2 Brahmans, 2 Muhammadans, 2 Anglo-Indians or Christians, 1 other castes. Under this arrangement, while it is inevitable that minority communities should suffer, it seems to me that individual members of the majority communities as well suffer disappointments. To illustrate my point, supposing the 13th man is an Anglo-Indian or Christian, he cannot hope to get the next vacancy, but should wait till 2 Non-Brahman Hindus and 1 Muhammadan were provided. My submission to this House is that whatever might be the merit of the immediately successive persons, they have to give way to the

merit of birth as ordained in this Government Order. Nothing could be more nakedly unjust than this.

"The injustice that is sought to be perpetrated by this Government Order on the Sub-Registrars' service, does not end with this service, and apparently it was not the intention of the Government to end it here even. For, the vacancies of District Registrars have to be filled up from recruitment from this selection grade of Sub-Registrars, which selection was made on purely communal basis. The result, therefore, is that the promotion to the Madras Registration Service of District Registrars, in effect will be made on communal considerations, for which no provision has been made in the rules published in regard to that service. I, therefore, say that the Madras Government instead of facing the question quite squarely and making provision for communal considerations even in the District Registrars' Service and obtain the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, is trying to circumvent the same by methods of the nature now illustrated. I, therefore, consider that it is neither fair to the Council nor to the service that such a device should be resorted to by the Government. It is only just that persons in the service should not be victimised on account of their birth. This will introduce a feeling of discontent, which will certainly affect the efficiency and the honesty of the services. I hope that that is not the object of the hon. the Minister. I beg to commend the motion to the acceptance of the House."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, I have very great pleasure in seconding this motion. I have more than once supported on the floor of this House propositions stating that it is necessary to make initial recruitments to the various services on some communal basis. But it was never intended or expected that Government would go so far as to apply that rule to what are really promotions. We are thankful to the Government for making an admission to me this morning that so far as the present Government Order goes, it does not apply to promotions.

2-45 p.m. "The only important question that we have to consider at present is whether an appointment to this selection grade is promotion or not. The leader of my party who has moved this proposition has, at some length, gone into the question of section 96-B of the Government of India Act. The plain questions that were put to-day were whether the Government were making these rules and promotions on communal basis under the powers that had been delegated to them under section 96-B. The direct question that was put was whether any rule deviating from the general principle of competition should not be approved by the Governor-General-in-Council. In this case even supposing that initial recruitments should be based on communal considerations, the Government have, first of all, to see on the analogy of the Government of India rules—unless they have got special powers—that two-thirds of the appointments at least are made by competition. If, in that two-thirds, there is no proper representation on communal basis, they may probably have power to recruit the other one-third on communal basis. Even then they should stick to some kind of competitive examination or other tests by which the qualifications of those persons may be found out. As the rules stand at present, I believe that in the absence of competitive examinations no recruitment can be made except by a Staff Selection Board

27th November 1928] [Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar]

or Public Services Commission unless it is approved by the Governor-General-in-Council. In this case, the appointments were not made by either of those bodies. However much we and the Government may agree that initial recruitment should be based on communal basis, what I urge is what has been done in this case is not proper at all. They should make the appointments either by a system of competition or with the help of a Public Services Commission or a Staff Selection Board which should be required to make these appointments under certain well-known rules.

"Coming to the present case itself, the Government of India Act with its various schedules tells us that, so far as the services are concerned, there are ordinarily only three kinds of services, viz., the Imperial Service, the Provincial Service and the Subordinate Service. So far as this department itself is concerned, the schedule gives no Indian Civil Service at all. We have only the Madras Civil Service and the Subordinate Service, and the Madras Civil Service consists of the cadre of District Registrars. According to the recent Government Order, of which we have got a copy, rules have been framed for the Madras Civil Service, which says that it consists of 33 Registrars and that the recruitments shall be made on communal basis. I am not now troubling myself whether that Government Order is correct so far as the recruitment of District Registrars is concerned. But the rule clearly shows that there is only one cadre so far as District Registrars are concerned and the same rule applies to the other cadre, viz., the Subordinate service of that department. Therefore all Sub-Registrars come under the one cadre of Subordinate Services. It is too much to suppose that in the cadre of Sub-Registrars there are several services, such as what they call the upper grade and selection grade. I would submit that it is absurd to call these three grades as separate services. The Government publish a book called the list of Sub-Registrars, and even in that book I do not think they are divided into three services—the ordinary subordinate service, the upper grade and the selection grade. So far as the rules and the Act are concerned, it is clear that at present all the subordinate posts in the Registration department form only one cadre. Therefore any appointments made in that service must be only promotions from one portion of the subordinate service to another portion. I see that the present thirty appointments seem to have been made by the Inspector-General upon the Government Order relating to the Madras Registration Service. I do not know if a separate Government Order has been passed regarding the Sub-Registrars I believe not. In any case I do not think that that Government Order can be made applicable to Sub-Registrars and therefore the Inspector-General was not warranted to make appointments in the new grade of Sub-Registrars on the strength of that Government Order on a communal basis. My submission is that appointments to the selection grade from the upper grade are necessarily promotion in the subordinate service. At the time the Act came into force, every one in service naturally expected that he would go to the top of the services, including the District Registrars' grade. If, therefore, the Government passed these orders without getting the sanction of the Governor-General, and, if necessary, of the Secretary of State, I am afraid that the Government will be liable to civil suits and will have to pay compensation I do not know whether the Government have considered that aspect of the question and whether these people will not be entitled to get

[Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar] [27th November 1928

compensation when promotions are made from one portion of the service to another portion on communal basis.

"The first question then I would ask is whether this is promotion or not. I would be glad to know from the hon. the Leader of the House or the Minister in charge whether they have consulted their legal advisers. Secondly, I will be glad to know whether these rules should not be approved by the Governor-General-in-Council and by the Secretary of State. These are questions going to the very root of the problem and I hope that the Government will seriously consider this question before public servants affected consider the desirability of taking further action in the matter.

"I do not want to say anything further to what has been said as regards justice and equity in the matter. If we scrutinize the list, the Government themselves have provided us regarding the officers that have been promoted to the special grade we find that the one of them is No. 160 in the list of the Sub-Registrars while the first man promoted is No. 7 in that list. Between 7 and 160, out of 153 cases only twenty-eight appointments have been made. Although some non-Brahman officers may think that they have been promoted over the heads of some Brahman officers, it will be clear that some non-Brahmans in the middle of the list will have the same grievance by a Muhammadan whose rank is 160 gets into the selection grade over the heads of senior non-Brahmans. To-morrow when the next vacancy occurs, a man who is probably 200th in the rank may be promoted because he is an Adi-Dravida or Christian or Anglo-Indian. Even non-Brahmans and others will thus be treated unjustly if promotions are made on communal basis.

"Apart from that question, there is the question as to whether public servants can be expected to have a good morale apart from the difficulty of maintaining discipline. When a person far junior is likely to be suddenly placed soon over a senior, he would not care to listen to the words of the senior for the time being and when the junior becomes a Registrar, the unfortunate senior man will have to serve under him. Are we not to remember in such cases ordinary human nature? Although I know that, fairly speaking, all the Sub-Registrars are honest now, I ask, will they continue to be so? For, however clever, however honest, however educated and efficient a man may be, whatever his character, whatever his capacity may be, he will not be promoted because he is a Brahman or because he is a non-Brahman and others, because they are Christians and Muhammadans. To say that, whatever the capacity of the man may be, he will not get promotion simply because he belongs to one unfortunate community is, to say the least, not to care for continued honesty. A non-Brahman lower down in the list will think 'why should I care for work; what do I care for honesty; I will get promotion anyhow, whether I am honest or not.' I think the morale of the service will be very bad. The rules under the Government of India Act have been framed on moral considerations also. From any point of view the Government are doing very grave injustice to the officers simply to please some Members in this House and to get their votes. It is well-known throughout the country that the Justice party was in a very large majority in the first Council. Even they did not dare to apply this bad system as regards promotions. They were then satisfied only to make some initial recruitments on a communal basis. By all means at the time of initial recruitment to any service, Imperial, Provincial or Subordinate, let the

Government make appointments on communal basis provided they are based on some competitive test as regards capacity, etc. Let it not be laid down that any man can get appointments simply as a question of communalism as that will certainly affect the efficiency of the services. European bureaucrats may be glad now. So far as they are concerned, all possible rights, imaginary and otherwise, have been safeguarded. We now say 'we want Indianization.' A few years later, they will say 'look at the result of Indianization; it is all rotten; it is all inefficient.' European officers will be very glad to give effect to such rules. It depends upon us, Indians, to see that we do not give room to such complaints being made later on. From all aspects of the question it is very necessary that we should look into this question very carefully. The Government should make it clear that they will not make these rules applicable to promotions in the same service by whatever name they may call them.

"I appeal, especially to the officers . . ." 3 p.m.

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member is requested to wind up his speech."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"Yes, Sir, I am actually doing it. I am therefore appealing to all the higher officers. I have even told some of the responsible officers, both European and Indian, who are against this rule. I appeal also to my European commercial members, non-official Europeans, to see that they do not allow such things to be done; of course I am told that even in the case of some Ministers they want non-Brahman shorthand writers, clerks, etc., but so far as Europeon non-officials are concerned, they would be the last to see such rules in force in their offices. What they will do in their own offices, they must certainly be willing to see done in other offices. Therefore I think, as a matter of sheer justice, this resolution should be passed by this House."

Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, I feel I cannot but characterize the recent Government Order which we are now considering and the selections made thereunder as unjust, inequitable and absolutely unfair. I charge the Government with a deliberate breach of faith in dealing with a large class of public servants who entered the service some 20 or 25 years ago under different conditions at a time when this communal bogey or communal preference was neither in the air nor was ever thought of. If only those that are responsible for this order had placed themselves in the position of the unfortunate man to whom guillotine had been applied deliberately or otherwise—I do not want to use strong language—I have not the slightest doubt that they would have declined to be parties to this. But unfortunately, neither the Members of the Government nor the legal advisers happen to be District Registrars or members belonging to the selection grade of Sub-Registrars or even members of the Registration department itself. Therefore, it mattered them not in the slightest degree how the order that they were issuing was likely to or calculated to affect a large number of public servants who have put in a large number of years' service and grown grey in the service and who were eagerly looking forward to some preferment and promotion and hoping that they might be able to get something extra on the eve of their retirement which would go to enhance their pension on their retirement. But alas! these hopes have been blasted, cast to the winds. On what

considerations, shall I ask, on what considerations of fairness, on what considerations of justice and on what other considerations but considerations unholy, impolitic and unwise, considerations which cannot appeal to any right-thinking man or which can hardly be expected to carry conviction to any one was this order passed? Already, Sir, a large number of persons have been affected for no fault of theirs. If you will only look into the list, you will find that out of 106 men, there are as many as 64 belonging to a particular community to which I have the honour to belong; and out of these 64 in the upper grade whose claims should have been considered for these 30 appointments, how many do we find? We find precious little and that precious little does not take us beyond six. Leaving out 64 out of 106, the balance comes to 42, and out of 42 as many as 21 have been provided for in the selection grade. Now, Sir, it is a tragedy of public life and even an irony of fate that when we come to examine the list of persons and the order in which their names have been placed, we find that the last man, a member of a particular community whose rank is 24, unfortunately for him and as ill-luck would have it, had been placed much below in rank; and above him have been placed 26 persons who are his juniors. Twenty-six men below him in rank have passed over his head, so much so that in the matter of free flow of promotions from the selection grade to the District Registrar's grade, this man will have to wait and wait, rot and die in despair and in humiliation, without having the benefit of promotion which he is otherwise legitimately entitled to. I ask whether any Government under the sun, any enlightened Government, has got the slightest right or justification, moral, legal or otherwise, to inflict such an unmerited hardship at a moment's notice upon this class of persons. I can very well appreciate, I can very well sympathize with the Government in their anxiety to adjust inequalities, to refuse initial appointments in respect of particular communities, say for five years or seven years or even ten years to come. Then it may be all right; but to interfere with the normal state of affairs and deny persons who have already been in service the chances of promotion which they are legitimately entitled to, is an outrage, I submit, upon commonsense and upon the accepted canons of fairplay, decency and honour.

" Sir, I have gone through the list very carefully. I find that as many as 25 Brahmans who are to retire in two or three years' time have not been considered fit to occupy any place in this selection grade. Is it their fault? Why should any man be penalised on account of his colour, caste or even birth? Suppose we make a rule to-morrow just to reverse this order of things, viz., that only certain considerations must weigh with the Government in the matter of appointments, can we expect it to be carried by the House? Will there not be a regular hue and cry? All that I submit is that if in the interests of placating a particular community you say so, then manage it in such a way as to cause the minimum amount of harm to the other communities, taking care at the same time to respect the feeling and the legitimate claims and susceptibilities of communities whose claims you want to ignore.

" Then again, Sir, as my hon. Friend from Coimbatore has just now stated, there may be some point in limiting it to the initial recruitment. But this 'recruitment' itself is a very deceptive and elusive term. It may embrace nothing or it may embrace all the universe. Suppose the Government says

we want to recruit 25 persons as registrars. Recruitment may be from the men in the service or it may be from people outside the service, and therefore the extension of this rule to all such cases will be to the detriment of a large number of persons who, I have not the slightest doubt, have been rendering meritorious and loyal service, service worthy of approbation and worthy of recognition and certainly unworthy of this kind of condemnation at the hands of this heartless Government. I do not want to use very strong language, Sir, though I am tempted to do so. It is unworthy of any Government which can lay claim to enlightenment What more can I say? I am conscious I am fighting a losing battle, but I am absolutely certain that a large number of persons are inclined to share the view which I am trying, at some pains, to lay before the House. I regard this Government Order as nothing but the thin end of the wedge. Probably this is the beginning, and the beginning itself has taken us very far into the depths; and I do not know to what further depths we will have to go, and I do not know what further orders this Government of Madras will pass in the case of other services as well. Even now, Sir, it is not too late; it is always a virtue to own one's mistakes, to go back upon them and to cancel them. That is gentlemanliness, that is chivalry. There is also an element of charity in it, and there is also an element of sympathy in it. I hope and trust that the hon. the Minister will, taking into consideration the feeling reflected on the floor of this House, try to reverse this process. On going through the communication that he has received from the Inspector-General of Registration dated July 1927, one may be tempted to think that the blame does not fall on him; but I am inclined to take a different view of the matter. So far as this communication from the Inspector-General of Registration is concerned, it does not contain any the slightest reference to the possibility of this communal preference being shown or considered. As a matter of fact, it is overflowing with profound sympathy for those who but for this Government Order would have been allowed to rot for all time to come till their retirement from service. Now, Sir, let me read out one or two extracts therefrom :

'The result will be that most of the sub-registrars cannot look forward for promotion to the cadre of District Registrars before they are due to retire. Seeing that sub-registrars' cadre is almost entirely composed of graduates, that the chances of their promotion to the gazetted rank are unduly limited and that they have no outlet for promotion in other departments, it is not unreasonable that they should expect higher remuneration at least towards the end of their service.'

"Then, after referring to what their confreres in the other departments, i.e., the Revenue Department and others, are getting, the Inspector-General says :

'I submit that the same principle may be extended to sub-registrars so as to enable officers who may not have an opportunity to get into the gazetted ranks of the department during their service, to rise to Rs. 250, the minimum pay of a District Registrar.'

"This contains a pious hope; how have the Government translated into action the pious hope which this letter adumbrates. As a matter of fact, the Inspector-General of Registration in his anxiety to do the barest amount of justice to his subordinates, and with a view to see that the men get the deserts which they are legitimately entitled to, came out with this plaintive plea on behalf of his subordinates and stated that these men may automatically rise to Rs. 250, the minimum pay of a District Registrar, as that will give them a small increase in their pension. That was what he had in his

mind and that is what exactly he put on paper. That was, I submit, before the consideration of the Government; but the Government turned down the proposal and has used it for some other purpose–I won't call it nefarious purpose. This is certainly unjust, improper, outrageous. I still have hopes in the fairness and impartiality of my friend the hon. the second Minister whom I have known very well, and who I believe in this case has yielded to some pressure partly from within and largely from without, for considerations which I shall not place before this House. I leave the matter there in the full hope that he will review the situation and reconsider the question. Being a pious Hindu and God-fearing as he is—I know him very well—I hope he will not do anything which is likely to bring upon his pious and devoted head the curse and wrath of deities."

Mr. N. SIVA RAJ:—"Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition in moving this adjournment motion, referred to the justice of the matter. I thought, Sir, that all the time he was talking, he was talking only of actual justice in the absolute. I do not think he ever thought of justice as it ought to be applied in this country. Sir, I do not think that justice, as he meant, can ever be applied to a country in which exists very many unjust things to the disgust of the whole world. And my friend Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar from Cuddalore said that there is no Government under the sun which will countenance such an unjust thing as the order that has been recently passed in the Registration department.

3-15 p.m. "Nor, I think, does there exist any country in the world in which you find so many unjust things being done in the name of caste and creed. I may state that whatever seems to be an unjust act on the part of the Government to-day in the eyes of the Opposition, is nothing but a necessary and a natural reaction of the society that exists outside this House. After all, in my opinion, Sir, even this House and the Government which is existing at the present day in Madras are nothing but an expression of the society that exists outside this House. Who is there in this House who is not a communalist? I am sure the hon. the Leader of the Opposition himself has said that many of the nationalists in his camp are communalists and communalists of a very rare type. I know that one party in this House, namely, the Justice party, has declared communalism as one of its political principles. We, of course, on this side of the House, have always stood for equal opportunities for all, thereby implying that we recognize the justice and the necessity of providing for every class or community. I do not think even our European friends who are here are free from that taint of communalism. We find, for instance, in the old Indian Civil Service Act and in the High Courts Act that a certain proportion of appointments is reserved for Europeans to be recruited from England, and other safeguards are provided. If there is that idea of absolute justice, I am sure such provisions will never find a place in some of these Acts. I am only surprised why people should now take umbrage under some of the provisions in the Government of India Act and criticize the action of the Madras Government in respect of the Government Order referred to.

"After all, we find that what the Madras Government did was merely to give an extension of the communal principle which they would usually adopt at the time of recruitment to the various public services. In a Presidency

like ours, where we find people are carried away or are influenced by office-holders and officers, it is very necessary that there ought to be an extension of this principle which has also been granted by the Opposition in regard to initial recruitment, to various stages in appointments. I maintain that selection to the selection grade is but another type of recruitment and is as good as direct recruitment to some of the higher posts in the public service. When in the case of recruitment to the higher jobs this principle of communal representation is granted, I do not see why, in the case of the selection grade, which after all has got to supply the higher officers in any particular department, this principle ought not to be granted. There is also yet another thing we have to consider in connexion with the extension of this principle, and I for one, belonging to a community which is practically not represented in the higher service, would welcome such a step and support it. If I had the power to do so, I would even go further than the present Government Order and in order to protect the interests of many communities, I would even lay down a rule that the community which is lower in the social scale ought to get greater representation in the Government service; not only a greater percentage, but also the higher appointments for men who belong to communities which are low in the social scale, with a view to improve their status knowing as we do that the people outside this Legislative Council and the country are invariably carried away by the influential officers of Government. So, I even think that this kind of principle will not be unjust.

" But, for the present, confining myself to this order relating to the Registration department, I cannot but welcome that order, in view of the fact that after so many years, and probably, for the first time, it throws open at least one job to a member of the community to which I have the fortune or misfortune to belong. We are all talking about efficiency. I for one maintain that efficiency is again a wrong principle to be applied. I will tell you how it is. I can understand efficiency being used among people who have got equal opportunities for training and who are given equal opportunities for equipping themselves for any competitive examination. Now, you throw obstacles in the way of certain communities getting into schools and colleges, or getting into particular society or atmosphere so that they cannot get the benefit which they can derive otherwise and you talk of efficiency, while all the time you deny others the opportunity to make themselves brilliant and efficient. I think, after all, efficiency is a thing which has been introduced into this country after the advent of the Englishmen in this country and I do not think that any principle and every which has been evolved in an island like England can be applied to a continent like India. What might be good or just in the case of Western systems cannot be maintained as just in this country, knowing as we do the peculiar conditions of our country. As I said previously, efficiency is a very very misleading test to be applied in this part of India. At any rate, we find that equal opportunities should be provided in the first instance to every one, however low or high he may be in the social scale, in order to equip himself for the efficient discharge of his work before this order can be called unjust. So, Sir, as I said once before, this Government Order is a natural and necessary result of the state of society that exists outside the Government and with that view, I oppose this adjournment motion."

* Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, permit me to enter my humble and most emphatic protest against this iniquitous measure that has been recently passed by the Government of Madras. Sir, I hold very strong views about communal representation in the services. I yield to none in my contention that there should be equal opportunities for all communities which point has been strongly urged by the hon. Mr. Siva Raj. I also see the imperious necessity of providing adequately and effectively for the representation of all communities and castes in the public services, but what I object to is the reservation of a proportion of certain appointments and the extension of the same principle even in the selection, promotion and in the upper grades as well. Whatever may be said of the initial recruitment, I for one should think that though this principle should be tolerated only in view of the peculiar conditions of this country, it should not be applied in making appointments to the upper grades or to the selection grade. When you make rules for the initial recruitment of officers, you should notify to those applicants or candidates 'that hereafter these shall be the rules which govern the continuance of the service in this particular department; if you choose to remain in it you may do so; if you do not like the service you may keep away'. Now, Sir, this actual gambling, if I may be allowed to say so, if it is allowed to spread not merely to initial recruitment but to the selection grade, and if the same thing spreads to the other departments also, I only see the thin end of the wedge now. The Government have been applying a kind of feeler in the case of the Registration department. It is the duty of us all to see that, in the interests of efficiency, in the interests of the existing and accruing rights of those in service, the merit of approved service will be the only criterion in making promotions or in appointments to the selection grade. I do not for a moment deny,—whether we succeed in carrying this adjournment motion or not, it may be that we are in a hopeless minority,—that it is a mistake to suppose that this Government Order treats only of one particular community, but it treats all minority communities alike, for instance, Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Depressed classes.

" Now, Sir, I remember the history of the whole question. In 1921, when the Justice party returned in their fullness and in their glory, and in the fullness of their wisdom, they moved a resolution and carried it by mere dint of majority of numbers and then a Government Order was issued, which is the famous Government Order of 13th August 1922, in which they did not carry out this principle. The present Government Order of October 1928, I should say, is a grotesque development of the same policy. I do not see any seeds of it in the Government Order of 13th August 1922. That Government Order simply re-affirmed the policy that has been laid down for a long time in the Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue. It aimed to see, that all conditions being equal, every effort should be made to give due and adequate representation to all communities. It is far from saying that for every twelve of the candidates, you must take a certain proportion, say, five caste Hindus, two Muhammadans, two Anglo-Indians, etc. It is a most illogical and I may say a most iniquitous principle that is contained in that Government Order.

3-30 p.m. " And I may also refer to the methods which the Government have adopted in this matter. When they dealt with the matter of passing rules

they adhered to the conditions of service in the case of Registrars, by which they meant conditions of pay of Registrars in general. They have taken this from the Civil Service Regulation Rules, but so far as the initial recruitment in the subordinate services in the Registration is concerned they have not taken into account the Civil Service Delegation Rules for obvious reasons. I put it to them directly whether they did not intend to circumvent the Government of India Act, ever since 1922 after the communal Government Order was passed, and whether it was not with the idea of going behind the rules and the policy of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. I should put it for this very reason that in the case of initial recruitment it is stated in the connected papers that the Inspector-General of Registration shall issue some instructions in conformity with the Government Order passed. And I take it that they have not acted on the Civil Service Regulation Rules so far as the initial recruitment of Sub-Registrars is concerned. And with regard to those already in the selection grade the authors seem to have issued certain departmental instructions. If we only turn over the pages, I mean, if we only refer to the Civil Service Regulation Rules we find a rule that only when they resort to departmental instructions they need not carry out the policy of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The rule is 'the previous sanction of the Governor-General in-Council shall be required (*a*) to making of first appointments to Provincial services otherwise than (1) on the result of a competitive examination and (2) on the advice of a permanent Board of Selection appointed by the Local Government or of the Public Services Commission established in accordance with section 96-C of the Government of India Act'. So they wanted to depart from this policy of competitive examination and of the advice of the Board of Selection. I think they ought to take the previous sanction of the Government of India. I would very much prefer the method of nomination whenever the Government thinks that any particular community or caste is not adequately represented instead of this arithmetical proportion and binding the hands of the head of the department, as they do in the superior services. I may also say that in the case of the existing and accruing staff, to protect them, I remember very well at the time of the Lee Commission they purposely made reservations in the case of All-India Services, the Indian Civil Service and other superior services. They made expressed reservations that the existing and accruing rights should not be infringed. I take it that this is no new principle: I find in the Government of India Act itself an expressed reservation in the Government of India Act under section 96-B. It runs thus:—'Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, shall retain all his existing or accruing rights or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them'. Now, Sir, the principle which it is held is applicable to the superior services must be extended to the subordinate services, i.e., the existing rights of those already in the services acquired by approved service, by merit and efficiency, by which they can rise to a certain level, that is the right of the existing staff and that ought not to be infringed. May I also refer in this connexion to the Government of Madras to rule 5, the very rule which they passed under the Civil Service Delegation Rules. 'Promotion to the selection grade shall be for approved services by more than ordinary merit and no officer shall be entitled to promotion to that grade merely on the ground of . . .' Why

should that rule be deviated from in the appointment of Sub-Registrars to the selection grade? Now, considering from any aspect it seems to me to be very iniquitous, very unjust, firstly on the ground that it impairs efficiency of the services, secondly, on the ground that it works great hardship on those already in the services. It is very unfortunate that this Government Order should be passed when there is considerable evidence given before the Statutory Commission that when communalism was introduced in the Punjab it has proved disastrous in the effect; and more especially on the eve of the Statutory Commission, when one of its terms of reference is with regard to the conditions of service and the principle and policy that should be followed in the recruitment of services. It is said that at this juncture the Government of Madras should have taken the lead in passing a very retrograde law and in doing so they seemed to have shelved the principle of a lifetime. From what the Member for Public Services said we learn that they have been slowly and persistently making this encroachment of communalism and further it is unfortunate they have introduced this on the eve of a great public commission not by direct, honest and frank methods but by roundabout methods by issuing departmental instructions, thereby avoiding the sanction of the Government of India. I wish to raise my humble protest against this. The sooner this order is cancelled in the interests of the security of the services and to prevent the injustice that will be done to the hard-worked subordinates in the lower rungs the better."

* Mr. K. KRISHNAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. Speakers who have spoken on the motion have been saying about the injustice that is perpetrated by this order especially to those who entered the services in the hope of getting promotions as they continue. But those speakers themselves probably forget that they were themselves the loudest in perpetrating that injustice, if that can be called injustice, what were they doing when they were asking for the Indianization of the services. Some of the superior grades in the Indian Services are filled by competitive examination and the present cry is for the Indianization of the services. And when they do so, they probably forget that those who got into the services by open competition in England would naturally feel that position which they were expecting to get in course of time, will be denied to them. Swarajists:—('They will get compensation.')

"We are discussing the question apart from the question of compensation. We are concerned with the question of injustice. Surely if a person is aggrieved, he will get compensation. Therefore there is no point in basing the entire argument on the question of injustice. That is not a sound argument. Is it injustice after all? We take the condition of the services, at the time these gentlemen entered the services, surely, they never expected that their salaries would be increased to the present level on account of their services as sub-registrars. They began, if I remember right, on Rs. 35 a month. And now in the superior selection grade they hope to get a much higher salary. It cannot therefore be said that there is injustice. No doubt, they might have expected better prospects; but it cannot be said that they are entitled to all the privileges that might come and will not share occasional disadvantages.

27th November 1928] Mr. K. Krishnan

"The moment a certain person becomes a district registrar several appointments of clerks, peons and so many others would be under him and if a person of the non-Brahman, Christian or Muslim community gets that post the members of those communities may have a chance of equalizing the inequality in such cases; so that it is not merely a case of giving a preferment to one alone. If a particular consideration should be the guiding principle in the case of one of the services I can't understand why this should not be applied to other services. This is a matter of selection grade. This is practically a new appointment for which even strangers could be recruited. Under the circumstances I cannot see any injustice in enforcing a principle meant for the purpose of bettering the prospects of a large or important communities in this Presidency."

* Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—"In the carefully prepared written speech of the Leader of the Opposition he has missed the real point at issue before the House. He characterized the method of recruitment as illegal and opposed to all canons of justice and fairness. I do not propose to deal with the first part of his objection. I leave it to the Government whether or not it is warranted by the rules or by the sanction of the Government of India. My object will be to offer a few remarks that the Government Order or the proposal issued by the Government is neither unfair nor dishonest but is one which has been accepted by this House. 3-15 p.m.

"The policy of this House has been laid down by resolutions passed by overwhelming majorities in 1921 and 1922. Communal representation has been the accepted policy and communal representation was emphasized by those very persons who may now sit in the Opposition; there are members who said that it was absolutely necessary in the interests of the country. (Hon. Members: 'Who are they?') I would ask you to search your own hearts and say whether you did or did not subscribe to the principle of communal representation as an absolute necessity in the administration of this province. Sir, again you will find that this principle of communal representation has been clothed in another form, and that is what we have been saying repeatedly in the conferences of the party, namely, that we stand for communal justice and for equal opportunities for all. Wherever there are qualified candidates who are well equipped with the necessary qualifications and attainments, available for certain appointments, candidates of communities which are not properly and adequately represented in the particular service should be given preference, so that communal justice may be meted out in the administration of the country. I would not go into the history, the painful history of the successive attempts made in order to throttle the policy that was laid down by this House. But suffice it to say that in what the Government has done to-day it is only justifying itself, it is only redeeming the policy that the Government had accepted at the time. Sir, I would not detain the House in taking the House through the history of communal representation. As long ago as the 3rd September 1843 this question was raised and this policy was laid down by the then Government. It was emphasized and repeated again in the Board's Standing Orders in 1855. Sir, in 1911 the Board and the Government revised the whole policy and laid down the principle of adequate and proper representation of all castes and communities in the services. Sir, if hon. Members would turn to Board's Standing Order No. 128, they will find the whole

history of this question. In 1913 again the Government made an attempt to do justice to all communities and yet we see what the situation to-day is, and how it is being worked. Attempts have thus been made from time to time to emphasize the principle that there should be equal opportunities afforded to all classes and communities in the services, but for some reason or other justice is denied. Sir, is this a wrong and unfair principle? Sir, you find that the principle of Indianization has been emphasized by us nationalists, and as we are all nationalists (Hear, hear) we want that gradual Indianization must be conceded to us. When we agitated for Indianization of the services, the vested interests raised a hue and cry. My friend has spoken of the existing and accruing rights of these subordinate services having been trampled down by this principle and therefore it is absolutely necessary that they should be protected. A similar cry was raised on behalf of vested interests in the case of Indianization, and what has been the reply of nationalism of this country? They said that it was unnecessary to take note of it and that as vested interests were interferred with, the services raised a storm of opposition but Indianization should be proceeded with. If we stand for Indianization, if the vested interests of those that have come here from other countries and have been with us, and governing this country, wielding administrative powers are to be interfered with and disturbed, then what is the meaning of this cry in regard to this matter? The matters are similar. Therefore I see absolutely no reason whatever even from the nationalists' point of view for any opposition to the principle of communal justice. If we turn to the other side, if we turn the searchlight into the society, into the organization of the services, you will see the justice of this principle. I do not want to go into details, but I only stand for the principle. If you turn the searchlight into every department, what do you find? You will find the sad spectacle of injustice. I do not blame them for this situation. People who are not advanced now did not take advantage of the facilities afforded by the East India Company and the Government later, and therefore these classes naturally were left in the background. Those who started earlier gained power in the country, and a minority now wield the whole power in this country. But when other castes and communities make an attempt similarly to raise themselves from their present level and follow the example of those people in order to attain social and political progress, is there any reason to deny them the right of uplifting themselves, and do you say that they should not strive for social and political equality? Sir, you can very easily imagine what an amount of power is being wielded by a class which has all official power in its hands in this country where other classes are educationally backward. For decades and decades the people have been in the hands of a particular class who held much social and religious influence in the country. In the midst of these social and religious influences, when Government office meant so much influence and power, what would be the condition of the populace? Now they are conscious of the new reform scheme. The vote given them under the reform scheme has roused the communal consciousness and they have realized what power they have. There has been much awakening among them, and in such an awakening you must provide them with facilities which are quite just. Vested interests must not be allowed to stand in the way of their progress. The Government Order that has been issued is one not against those who are now in the service. It raises only one question, namely, that a new cadre

27th November 1928] [Sir A. P. Patro]

has been created where there was no selection cadre before in the Registration department. It is created for the first time in order to provide for those who would not be able to go up to the post of the District Registrar. It is not a case of a mere ordinary promotion from one post or grade to another, but it is the case of selection for fitness. In every case of selection, the fittest or the most efficient person will have to be selected (Hear, hear). That is so in this case. I would throw out a challenge to hon. Members to produce instances. The speech of my hon. Friend Mr. Venkataramana Ayyangar and the vehement denunciation of my friend from Cuddalore only resulted in pointing out that we should be ashamed of the Government and that this Government is unworthy and so on. I do not care to criticize the Government (An hon. Member:—You dare not). You should not lose your temper in a problem in which you are yourselves concerned. Bad temper does not make up for argument. My friend said that the hundredth man was promoted. I do not see, if he is a qualified and competent candidate, why a man who has crawled up in the routine course should be given a preferential place. If a man who has only ordinary attainments is to be allowed automatically to go up to a selection cadre, where then is the scope for a really bright, intelligent and capable man to go to the selection grade? Hence, the principle must be upheld. The selection into the grade is not challenged on any of these grounds, namely, the ground of efficiency, ability and so on, but only on seniority, because a particular man occupies the third or fourth place in the list he should have the right. I can understand hon. Members placing facts before us but not theories. We must have facts to show that there is a case where a person, who is duly qualified and efficient and has put in the necessary service, has a grievance. No case has been pointed out by the Opposition. I have carefully heard the speeches of the hon. the Mover, the seconder and the supporters. No one has cited a single fact to show that injustice has been done in any case. Communal justice should not be one on paper. It should not be advocated merely in order to placate some other classes. Some people say 'We stand for communal justice' for the time being, but when it comes to a real acid test of action, they do not show it. The truth and justice of the principle must be accepted. Certain communities have had the position and power by virtue of their long advance and education over other communities but the overwhelming numbers of the masses, in those days of democracy, assert themselves. If we stand for democracy, naturally the masses must be allowed to assert themselves. You cannot have any one class to monopolize power any longer. The masses are being educated and enlightened and will assert themselves and all these vested interests must naturally be interfered with. Therefore naturally there will be a certain kind of agitation. Communal justice in this province is a principle of democracy and is not opposed to nationalism at all. Therefore I say on the ground that not a single instance has been pointed of injustice being done in the selection-grade appointments, that this is a new cadre, recruitment should be on the basis of communal justice, fairness and equality. That not being challenged, I say there is absolutely no case made out. I am afraid that this is one of those cases which is more intended for newspaper reports or platform entertainments."

* Mr. K. R. KARANT :—"Mr. President, Sir, I have not much fear in putting my head into this hornet's nest, because I come from a district

[M. K. R. Karant] [27th November 1928

which has been ignored, whether Brahman or non-Brahman, all along under this Government. And speaking for myself, I wish to say that I have never aspired for Government service and do not propose to hereafter. And my only confidence in speaking on this motion is this, that in these two years that I have been here I can honestly say that I have not gone to any hon. Member on the opposite side and sought any appointment or recommended anybody or done anything of that type for which I should be ashamed of speaking on this resolution. I propose, therefore, to discuss it on its merits. I have nothing to say against the claims made by the non-Brahman communities that they should have a proper and just share in services. I have read the proceedings of this House in August 1921, and I have nothing to quarrel with that because it is perfectly right that every community and specially those who are backward should have in fact more representation in the Government service. Speaking only for myself, I am prepared to say that the two appointments which are now reserved for Brahmans under this Government Order may all go to other communities and not even one may go to the Brahman. Because after all, I feel that nobody is happy under the Government service. I think it is only a glamour. And I wish that if the non-Brahman communities have that glamour for some time, they will also come to the same view. If you take a subordinate on Rs. 50 or 60 with half a dozen children to support, and see how he is living, I do not think any Brahman or non-Brahman would wish to be under the service of this Government. Therefore, I wish that none of my friends should get into this Government service. Even in the case of the higher appointments, the difference is not very much. I am not even against proportionate representation. I am prepared to say that all the appointments may go to any community except the Brahman, because a Brahman should not think it is his monopoly. If he exercises his intelligence in other avocations of life like commerce, industry or the like, he is sure to thrive and thrive much better than in Government service. Now he generally spends much money on his education and even mortgages his ancestral property, and after all he does not get much in return in Government service. The sooner he gives up that ideal of Government service, as the *summum bonum* of his life, the better will it be for his wife and children and for the whole community. Therefore I have nothing to say against this Government Order as such.

"I have nothing to say against the Government Order. But coming to the question on hand, I think it is all a juggling with the terms 'recruitment,' 'promotion' and 'selection'. I think that it is really a breach of faith on the part of the Government to say this is a question not of promotion but of
4 recruitment; because if you go into the history of this question, it is said in
p.m. the letter of the Inspector-General to the Minister (this was placed before the House yesterday): 'With reference to the personal interview with the Second Minister, I enclose a statement showing the financial result of the scheme adumbrated by me for the betterment of the prospects of sub-registrars.' So at that time it was thought a natural promotion for all these people. I might mention the introduction of such a scheme was incidentally suggested by me last year in connexion with the representations made by a deputation of the Madras Presidency Sub-Registrars' Association which waited on the hon. the Minister on 3rd October 1925. As far as I am able to make out, it was composed mostly of the Brahman sub-registrars who wanted a higher promotion. I am speaking

subject to correction. The Inspector-General goes on to say: 'Taking the existing personnel of the District Registrars for which the number of vacancies ranges from two to three per annum, etc. Then he goes on 'I submit that the same principle may be extended to the sub-registrars so as to enable the officers who have not the opportunity of getting into the existing ranks through their service, to rise to Rs. 250, the maximum pay of the District Registrar. This will also give the officers a small increase in pension.' Then he says: 'I am confident that the revision of pay suggested by me would add to the efficiency and contentment of the service.' I do not understand how out of 121 men (I have followed closely the list of selection and I find it is a wonderful list that is made) if you choose one here and one there, it will give contentment and add to efficiency. The Inspector-General had no idea that it was to give representation to certain community. Else it should have found a place in his. Again, when the demand came before the House on the 28th March 1928, the same thing was reiterated: 'The Inspector-General is confident that the creation of a selection grade would add to the efficiency and contentment of the service.' If the hon. Minister wanted to give due representation to all the communities, and if he had come forward and said that it was one of his objects, he would have said so at the time. There was nothing of the kind. On the other hand, in his speech he said that people of approved standing of 25 years' service would be given the promotion. But now we find it is not so. People of less service have also got in. I feel that it is hardly just that anybody should be penalized by creating a selection grade of this type, and that those that belong to a particular community should suffer. Now, in the answer to the question put by Mr. S. Satyamurti, it is stated 'The term "recruitment" covers selection from a subordinate service or transfer from other departments as well as first appointments'. I cannot by any stretch of imagination see how these proportions would give contentment to those who were saying that they had no hope of promotion to the district registrarship. To say that recruitment includes also selection from the same cadre is a travesty of justice. Whatever the result of this motion, I do not think it is proper or just that Government should encourage this sort of discontent and inefficiency in the service."

Mr. M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar:—"Mr. President, Sir, the subject of communal representation in public services is not a new thing to this House. In fact, even as early as 1921, there was a resolution carried by this House unanimously that a certain percentage of appointments should go to the backward and other non-Brahman communities. In those days, there were stouter champions of the efficiency theory than now and yet they did not oppose the resolution. Probably they thought that the resolution would not be given effect to. As a matter of fact, seeing what has happened since, they were right and those who promoted the resolution were wrong. If we turn to the questions put this morning here, in answer to a particular question, it will be clear, 'It has been repeatedly asserted in this House and outside it that these orders have been ineffective and inoperative and it is a fact that the returns compiled to exhibit the effect of the orders do not show that there has been much change in practice in the years since the order was issued.' Therefore, these communal orders and Government Orders had practically no effect in carrying out the resolution which was passed unanimously. The Government have been thinking how best and

effectively they could put into effect this resolution. After seven or eight years, they found a way, and at last the recent Government Order has been passed which in a way would try to give effect to this resolution. That is why a section of the House is so vociferous because Government want to give real effect to the resolution passed many years ago.

"Another plea is that vested interests would suffer if this communal principle be extended to the service. Will not vested interests be affected when pressing for the Indianization of the services, I ask? For instance, an European or an Englishman may as well say 'We have come here with the hope that the British Empire will continue for ever, and we have established many clubs, gymkhanas, etc., and it will be difficult if you ask us to clear away.' Therefore in giving proper effect to the Government Order by giving due representation to all the communities, one or two communities which were enjoying a special advantage must suffer and so they cannot complain. Again, the theory of efficiency may be brought forward. Even considered from the point, the Government Order has many restrictions. For, the order says 'If qualified and suitable candidates are available in each community officers shall be appointed so that the proportion of appointments made from each community may,' etc. Thus it will be seen that only if candidates suitable and duly qualified are available, the Government will think of recruiting men from that particular community; if such men are not available, selection will be made from other communities of duly qualified and suitable persons. Therefore, there would not be much complaint even from that point of view."

* Mr. A. PARASURAMA RAO:—"Mr. President, Sir, I do not wish to enter into this controversy and discuss whether the Government Order that is issued is just and proper or there is anything wrong with it. My point is entirely different from those of the previous speakers. I would simply lay the whole blame at the door of the Government for having issued the Government Order at this psychological moment. The Government wanted to create communal acrimony at a time when it ought not to be roused. They laid a trap, and the Leader of my party fell into that trap easily, I say with due deference to him, and brought in this question by means of an adjournment motion. And the Government have scored a point, with the result that the acrimony that has been created will not only be confined to the four walls of this House, but will be carried throughout the Presidency. (A voice: Simon Commission.) I will come to it. Why the Government chose this particular moment to issue the Government Order is a point which we have to examine. Were they justified in doing so, apart from the question of communalism or otherwise? Brahmans do not care a farthing for Government appointments. I will simply say Government need not have chosen this particular time for adumbrating a principle of this kind.

"It has been said that so early as 1922, the principle was enunciated in this House and that principle has been given effect to now. But why should it be at this particular moment? Is it without any motive or purpose? At a time when the Simon Commission is about to visit this place, this question is raised when the bogey of communalism has been ringing throughout the country. In the Southern Presidency there was only the question of Brahman versus non-Brahman which is a bi-lateral question. Now, by the

27th November 1928] [Mr. A. Parasurama Rao]

introduction of this Government Order they have made it a quadrilateral question, viz., Brahman, non-Brahman, Muslim and Christian. That is the effect of a Government Order of this kind.

"Well, it has been said the whole question has been placed before the country with a view that this acrimony may be intensified so that people may go on fighting indifferent to the consequences or outcome. If that is the object of the Government, I daresay they have immensely succeeded in it. As to the merits of the question I do not want to enter into them now. The persons who it is said have vested interests do not care to maintain vested interests. They will surely be prepared to give way in favour of other communities who are less favoured. We need not fight over the matter. If the Government are not actuated by a sinister motive, as I said, they would do well to at once say that this Government Order would be withdrawn for the time being, because every one of these communities, Muslims, Christians, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, must close up their ranks and show a united front and say that the necessity has arisen when these communal questions ought to be wiped out completely and show to the Simon Commission that there is nothing, no difference at all in the matter of these appointments and other things. That is the reason why I said that the moment is very inopportune for the issue of this Government Order. If my view is incorrect and if the Government think that I am wrong in accusing them, well, they might certainly get up and say that my view is wrong and that they are prepared to withdraw this Government Order now and issue it sometime hence." 4-15 p.m.

Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR :—"Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. Fortunately for us in this province, we have no such communal trouble as the Hindu-Muslim question which affects other portions of India. The one cause of such communal trouble as does exist in this province is, as has been recognized for many years, the great preponderance, if not the monopoly, in the services of one particular community. My hon. Friends sitting to my right, who represent as they profess to do the most advanced national feeling in the country, have themselves recognized that this great preponderance is an evil that ought to be removed. I may examine, Sir, the cut motions that were moved at the time of the budget discussion in March 1927. There were 38 motions moved then for the purpose of bringing to the notice of the Government the very inadequate representation of the communities to which the authors of those motions belong or whose interests they wanted to protect. I find on a calculation, Sir, that 33 of these motions were brought by my hon. Friends sitting to my right, members of the Swarajya party. Well, Sir, I hear a voice that even now they recognize it. I am very thankful to the hon. Member who said so. I need scarcely want any better authority than the author of present adjournment motion itself in support of my view. I shall read only a few sentences from a recent address of his which he delivered at the All-Parties Conference at Coimbatore. He said there, Sir, in words which I would myself have considered perhaps too strong, that this was an evil which we ought to recognize and which we ought to remove. He said:

'I make a similar appeal to my friends of the Brahman community not to misunderstand the apparently aggressive inroads made by the non-Brahmans

[Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar] [27th November 1928

in social, economic and political fields. Owing to one cause or another, they have not had their legitimate share in these fields and the wave of democracy which has swept over the world has awakened them up too and it is only by a spirit of mutual toleration and trust that unity between these two communities can be achieved. There is a tendency at present to think that every appointment given to a Brahman is at the cost of the non-Brahman and every post that is secured by a non-Brahman is due not to his merits but to the communal status. There is no doubt that there is more toleration amongst the Brahmans in regard to the failings and weaknesses of themselves than they have towards the best of their non-Brahman friends. All this is due to selfishness playing still an important part either in higher politics or in the lower plane of offices.'

"Well, Sir, I cannot advance stronger or more forcible arguments than those contained in the passage I have quoted. In answer to this motion which has been moved by the hon Members of the Swarajist party a reassuring statement has been made by the Member of Government that the interests of the communities which they represent will be adequately protected. And more than once, Sir, the wishes of this House have also been represented to the Government in the shape of resolutions But this morning in answer to a question put by the Deputy Leader of the Swarajya party we had a confession from the hon. Member for Revenue who is in charge of the services, that all these resolutions so far have been mere pious wishes and our attempts for greater representation has been a mere cry in the wilderness. I say that on the authority of the statement made by the hon. Member for Revenue himself. Well, Sir, we have had instances when junior favoured lawyers of a community which was already over-represented in the judicial services, were put over the heads of people who had put many many years of service. The nationalist blood of our Swarajist friends did not boil then. Why should it boil now I ask? So long as those resolutions were mere scraps of paper and so long as no endeavours were made to translate them into action, we had the lip-sympathy of our Swarajist friends. When once an honest endeavour is made to give effect to them there is this revolt. I see, Sir, one observation that was made by the Deputy Leader of the Swarajya party this morning which I could quote with great relevancy. He said: 'Vested interests do not commit suicide, or sign their death warrant.' The struggle that we notice to-day is the struggle of the vested interests in this Presidency resisting the demands to abolish those vested interests. Well, Sir, I would say that if, in the name of nationalism, they resist the endeavours to restore communal equilibrium in this Presidency, I would certainly characterize it as a mere travesty of nationalism.

"I thought that this motion which was announced by the Leader of the Swarajya party as a matter of urgent public importance clearly deserving a designation of that character, was going to be debated and discussed as such this afternoon. But after listening to his speech and to the speech of some others who argued in the same strain as himself, I found that the discussion has reduced itself to a mere lawyerlike argument on the rather very insignificant point whether appointments to the selection grade are to be regarded as recruitment or as promotion. I say, Sir, this is not a matter of such great

27th November 1928] [Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar]

national importance as to touch the nationalist chords in the hearts of our Swarajist friends. It is a very small matter and, I am glad to say that one of the Swarajists themselves has referred to this as a very insignificant point that has been raised by the discussion of this question.

"I do see, Sir, from the speeches made by the leader of the Swarajist party and some others that they would have absolutely no quarrel if, in the recruitment of officers as district registrars, the rule in this Government Order is applied. But they say that in making appointments to the selection grade, if this rule is going to be applied, it would affect their national prestige and matters of that kind. I answer that argument by a very simple analogy. If, instead of calling these sub-registrars, sub-registrars of the selection grade, supposing they had an official designation like deputy registrars, if I understood my hon. Friend the leader of the Swarajya party aright, he would have absolutely no quarrel. I would therefore say that it is a quibbling, a quibbling with which we are acquainted and does not deserve the great discussion which has been raised this afternoon as if it were a matter of urgent public importance. I would appeal to my Swarajist friends not to resist such endeavours to restore communal harmony among the various communities in this presidency, but to help and encourage such attempts even if there should be some kind of injustice or prejudice to some vested interests, vested interests always suffer when reforms are undertaken.

"I should thank the Government for the order which they have passed after all in enforcing the resolutions which have been times without number reiterated before this House. And I hope that with equal fairness and courage they could extend it to other departments of the services where such communal representation is required for communities which are not adequately represented."

* The hon. Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR:—" Mr. President, Sir, I should thank the hon. the Leader of the Opposition for the opportunity he has afforded to the Government for explaining the position of the Government as regards these communal Government Orders and the various orders issued by the Government and, if possible, to disabuse the minds of some hon. Members who seem to think that some injustice has been done to some people.

"Mr. President, I do not think much of a speech is necessary from me. The speakers who preceded me have already established to a certain extent that no injustice has been done. Therefore, in the course of my speech I do not propose to urge any special arguments of my own, but simply refer to the proceedings of this House on previous occasions when every thing that could be said for and against this proposition has been clearly stated. Before proceeding to the merits of the question, Mr. President, I will first deal with the question which the hon. the Leader of the Opposition raised, viz., that the orders which have now issued are not in the spirit of the rules made and orders issued by the Secretary of State and that our rules are ultra vires. In this matter, Mr. President, I wish first to make one remark and that is this: The opposition seems to have proceeded on the basis that the order which we issued on the 3rd September and the one which was issued on the 11th September stand on the same basis. We are authorized under the Delegation Rules to make rules for the Provincial and Subordinate Services. We have issued the rule under section 96-B and it is published in

the gazette of the 13th October. In that connexion my hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition and some other members on the opposite side referred to rule 5 which laid down that promotion to the selection grade shall be for approved service and for more than ordinary merit and that no officer shall be entitled to promotion to that grade merely on the ground of seniority. They laid strees on the fact that the words 'communal representation' did not find a place in rule 5. May I, for a moment, draw their attention to the whole of the rule and point out what the selection grade there referred to is? The selection grade referred to in the rule is for the 33 posts of District Registrars in this Presidency. The rules made under section 96-B refers only to the 33 District Registrars and none else. They are called the Madras Registration Service and the rules issued apply only to them. Their cadre is from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 and above Rs. 500 there are two posts in the selection grade, one on Rs. 600 and one on Rs. 700. Rule 5 refers to these two posts on Rs. 600 and Rs. 700 and has absolutely no application whatever to the selection grade of Sub-Registrars which was created by another Government Order so that any argument based on 96-B is absolutely irrelevant to the question we are dealing with.

4-30 p.m. "My hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition and some other hon. Members said that we were afraid to approach the Government of India with regard to the embodiment of rules regarding communal representation in the rules under 96-A. I would invite the attention of my hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition to rule No. 3 under section 96-A of the Government of India Act which I dare say he has read but, I am afraid, interpreted wrongly. I submit, Sir, if any rules are made by this Government as regards recruitment to public service, unless the appointment is to be on the recommendation of a Public Service Commission or as a result of competitive examination—such rules need not have the sanction of the Government of India. We do not fear that the Government of India will not sanction the legitimate rules of this Government, rules which have been sanctioned by two resolutions—I say, resolutions which were passed unanimously—that each community should have a fair representation in the public service of the province. We absolutely had no such fear when we made this rule. What we thought was it would be inconvenient for the Government of India and for this Government if we approached them at every time, when we wanted to make certain appointments, to sanction those appointments. If we wanted to do so, we could have very easily done so, but as a matter of administrative convenience we thought it would have been very difficult for us to approach the Government of India at every time and get their sanction. That is the reason for not making that a rule under section 96-A. As regards Sub-Registrars, they belong to the subordinate services to which the rules under section 96-A do not apply. As regards the Government Order about communal representation, the Government are acting intra vires in framing them.

"Mr. President, thus clearing the ground of legal difficulties, I shall refer briefly to the history of these communal Government Orders which have been referred to by some speakers, especially that referred to by Mr. Patro. I do not think it will be necessary for me to refer to the Government Orders which were passed prior to the Reformed Councils. In 1921 soon after the

27th November 1928] [Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar]

Reformed Council came into existence a motion was tabled in this House and I say that motion was carried unanimously. The resolution runs in these terms :— 'That with a view to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmans the principles prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board's Standing Order No. 128 (2) be at once extended to all departments of the Government and be made applicable not only to the principal appointments but to posts of all grades and that the Government should issue orders accordingly and insist on their being enforced and that to this end half-yearly returns showing the progress made should be submitted by the head of each office. Such periodical returns shall be made available to the members of the Legislative Council.' Mr. President, in pursuance of this resolution the Government issued a Government Order on 16th September 1921 the terms of which are as follows :—'In order to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmans the Government direct that the principle prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board's Standing Order No. 128 (2) on the subject of distribution of appointments among various classes and communities should be extended to appointments of all grades in the several departments of Government. All heads of departments and other officers empowered to make appointments are requested to adhere strictly to this principle in filling up vacancies in future."

Mr. ABDUL HAMID KHAN :—" Was this adhered to ? "

The hon Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR :—" It is not for me to say whether it was adhered to or not. The hon. the Revenue Member admitted that it was not adhered to but it remained a dead letter for some time. But the Council of 1921 complained that this Government Order had not definitely and clearly set out the objects of the Government and a resolution was tabled to condemn its action in not having clearly worded the Government Order. To avoid a volley of well-merited criticism, the Government issued another Government Order in August or September 1922, which brought out clearly the objects of the previous Government Order. I do not think it will be necessary for me to refer to the whole of that Government Order but I will read only five or six important lines therefrom and they are these :—' Government recognize that if principal appointments are to be divided among several communities, the lower appointments from which recruitment is made to them must be likewise divided and are quite prepared to agree that in order to give effect to this policy other things being equal the principle specified in the Board's Standing Order should be given effect to both at the time of initial recruitment and at every point at which men are promoted wholly by selection and not by seniority.' Mr. President, what else is it on the present occasion ? It is not only by seniority that a man gets promotion in the various departments of the Government. There is what is called time-scale and a man gets promotion up to Rs. 150 So, the principle is wherever there is promotion from one grade to another and where the principle of selection comes in, then the principle of communal representation will come in. What further has been done than exactly applying this principle ? May I say, Mr. President, that this communal Government Order was not adhered to as it ought to have been or as the hon. Members of this House thought it ought to have been done, and in the year 1925 the United Nationalist Party of which the hon. the Leader of the Opposition who now moves the

adjournment motion, you, Mr. President, Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar and many of the hon. Members of this House were members, tabled an amendment to a resolution and the amendment was in these terms :—

'That this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of this House be appointed to enquire and report as to the working of the policy laid down by the Government in G.Os No. 658, dated 15th August 1922, and No. 76, dated 6th February 1924, and to suggest means to effectively provide for giving preference to competent candidates from communities which have not had their due share of appointments in public service until the existing inequalities are removed.'

"President, I should say judging from the speeches made on that occasion one should hesitate to characterize this order of the Government as unjust or against the interests of the nation."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I should say that the hon. Member is wrongly quoting. The first motion was that of Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar. What the hon. Member is quoting is the amendment of Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar."

The hon. Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR :—"Yes, Mr. President, I am referring to Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar's amendment. The speech that he made on that occasion runs in these terms : 'So, I beg to submit, Sir, that from all these points of view, both political and economic, it is absolutely necessary and I think it ought to be possible, that all communities should have their proper share in the public services of the country. Otherwise the result will only be what we have already experienced so long, viz., that the non-Brahman communities will be far behind the other community, the Brahman community, and also, Sir, politics as understood in India has been mainly the concern of persons holding offices and the members of their communities who are swaying the opinion of the country. It has been, said that Madras is conservative, it has been said that Madras is backward. Well, Sir, what is the reason ? The reason to my mind is very plain indeed, viz., that in Madras there is this cleavage, i.e., those who know politics, those who dabble in politics, are not the masses, are not the large body of the people but only a few classes at the top. And there is the natural result that those others look askance at these people who lead and they are not quite prepared to share their views fully with the result that we have not the same sort of national movement with the same sort of following as in other parts of the country.' "

Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA :—"On a point of order, Mr. President. Is it open to the hon. Minister to read too long from a book ?" (Laughter.)

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Minister will have to conclude his speech very soon."

The hon. Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR :—"When, Mr. President ?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The usual time allowed is 15 minutes. The President is given the power to extend it. I request the hon. Member to close his speech at 4-45."

* The hon. Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR :—"Sir, to continue my quotation. This is how he continues :—'Well if that state of things is to disappear and if all of us could feel together and there could be a common movement in which everybody would take part, then also I beg to submit that it is

27th November, 1928] [Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar]

absolutely necessary there should be no sort of reservation, as it has practically amounted to, of all these Government appointments and of the political life to one or two communities.

"Mr. President, after the passing of that resolution a committee was appointed to go into the whole question to see how far these communal Government Orders had been carried out. Unfortunately that committee did not meet, and the Government took up the question in the years 1926 and 1927, to give effect to the communal Government Orders, to the established policy of this House. This question of giving effect to communal Government Orders was not started in the year 1928 but may I tell you, Sir, much earlier and the principle of proportion was fixed as early as September or October 1927 and the present Government Order is only giving effect to the declared policy of this House and also to the two Government Orders that were previously passed. When the proportion was fixed the personnel of the Madras Government was not exactly as it is now, and three of the members constituting it were different. In previous years there was no opposition to the passing of these Government Orders, and when the present Government has passed a Government Order to give effect to these communal Government Orders, I submit there is absolutely no injustice which anybody can complain of in this Government Order. If you think it is not right, reverse the previous decisions of the House and the previous Government Orders.

"These are some of the general observations which apply to the Government Order. Rules like this have been issued with regard to various other departments such as the Survey department, the Engineering department, the Forest service, the City Civil Court and the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court and so forth, generally fixing the order of appointments to be distributed either on communal proportion or on communal rotation. For instance, if a Muhammadan is a judge now, the next judge must be according to the communal rotation a non-Brahman or a Christian or a Brahman. Coming to the Registration department this question of communal representation was there long before these Government Orders, and as early as 1920, when Sir P. Rajagopala Achariyar, one of your distinguished predecessors, was in charge of the department, he laid down that out of every four appointments of District Registrars three should be non-Brahmans and one Brahman. Subsequently in 1921 or 1922, when the upper grade of Sub-Registrars was first brought into existence, this principle was applied in the selection to the upper grade of Sub-Registrars. On six or seven occasions subsequently when selections were made to the upper grade of Sub-Registrars this principle was applied, not without deliberation, but after full discussion and deliberation and after arriving at the conclusion that this principle applied to the upper grade Sub-Registrars. I do not see why the same principle should not be applied in the case of selections from upper grade to the selection grade. Government have only been following the principle that was laid down already. I am not particular that this principle should be there or should not be there. But unless you say that this priniciple should not be there and that the policy should be reversed, a policy which has been laid down with the consent of the whole House, I do not see how, in making these appointments to the selection grade on the principles which have been laid down by the Government long ago, we have not done justice to the existing or accruing rights of the people. This seclection grade came into

4-45 p.m.

existence only in April 1928 and none of the gentlemen now in service who entered it 20 or 25 years ago looked up to an appointment like this. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition said that he had no quarrel if this principle was applied to the selection of District Registrars, but he would not like to see it applied to the selection of selection grade registrars thereby interfering with their hope of becoming District Registrars. On what principle, I ask? I do not think that in the step taken by the Government any injustice is done to anybody and all that we have done is to carry out an avowed policy of this House and of the Government."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, I am rather glad that this question has been raised in this Council, so that much of the confusion that might exist in the minds of some hon. Members might be removed. This question of communalism is an old one and a discussion of it has taken place from time to time in this House. In 1921 this question was first mooted with regard to recruitment to the Judicial service and it was then decided that the same principles which applied to the recruitment of officers of the Revenue Department should apply to the Judicial Department also. Subsequently in 1922, the resolution referred to by the hon. Minister was passed. An amendment was moved by Sir Parasuram Patro; it is a fact that I seconded it and it is also a fact that the resolution was unanimously passed by the House without a single dissentient voice whatsoever from any part of the House. So that so far as that resolution was concerned all the Members of the House who were then present were committed to it. And it goes without saying that the people who agreed to that resolution wanted to give their own interpretation to the terms of the resolution whatever might have been the views of the people who started discussion in the matter. But so far as the Government was concerned, there is no doubt whatsoever that they did not interpret it in the sense in which the members now occupying the Treasury Bench want to interpret it. (Hear, hear.) Otherwise if they really meant what the present occupants of the Treasury Bench say they meant, surely Sir, common honesty would have required of them to have given effect to it in a more drastic way than they have been doing for so many years.

" It has been admitted by Sir Patro that all their attempts to give effect to the resolution in the particular way in which they wanted it to be done were in vain. It is a tragedy that a thing which could not be carried out by the Justice Party when they were in the plenitude of their power is being carried out by a Ministry which perhaps has taken the clue from that party." (Hear, hear.)

The hon. Mr. S. MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR :—" I said that the principle had been there already, even in September 1927."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" Very well, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar refers to one statement he made, viz., that this had been agreed to as late as September or October 1927, thereby implying that the thing was there already waiting to be given effect to. Sir, if that thing was there in September or October 1927, why was it not put into force till March when a number of selection appointments were made? Why was it, Sir, that I did not act up to this while I was there?" (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB :—" You had not the moral courage."

27th November 1928]

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Order, order. The hon. Member will continue his speech. The House will have to listen to him very calmly."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" My hon. Friend has been good enough to say that I had not the moral courage to give effect to it. I do not call it a Parliamentary expression."

Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA :—" Malabar expression. " (Laughter.)

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" I may tell him that I am not one of those who say one thing in private and do something else in public. "

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" Hear, hear."

Mr. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB :—" Shut up."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" You shut up."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" I was in office till March. This principle was not given effect to by me in regard to such appointments as those to which my hon. Friend has referred. He was in office for a long time ; and why is it that he waited till October of this year to give effect to this order if it had been already there and was only waiting to be applied to to these new appointments ? Sir, the fact of the matter is this. There was the question of the Public Services Commission to be appointed and a Bill was necessarily to be drafted for that purpose. In regard to that we had to consider what the rules should be so that it might not be left to the sweet will and pleasure of X, Y or Z to interpret the things in his own way but there might be something definite to be followed. Well, Sir, these rules were never finally approved by us. They were there and they were meant to be considered. The Public Services Commission is nowhere. The rules framed are non-existent. To say that the rules which were under consideration were finally accepted rules and binding on him or on any other person, I must say, Sir, is a misstatement of the facts. (Hear, hear.) There is one serious objection to this sort of order being issued by department after department. Sir, Government is one if it is a Government at all. It should be carried on on some uniform principle. To-day, my hon Friend issues some orders in regard to the Registration Department on some principle of communal representation. My hon Friend, Mr. Seturatnam Ayyar, is in charge of other departments ; does he accept these principles ? I know my hon. Friend overlooked the interests of his country as well as of his community in taking up the office which he is holding now. I am perfectly certain that he will not repeat it and barter the interests of his community.

" If such orders are going to be promulgated by department after department on different principles, how are you going to have any uniformity of policy in regard to the administration of the various departments of the Government ? There would be one method of recruitment for the Registration Department in charge of the hon. Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar, another method of recruitment for the Public Works Department in charge of hon. Mr. Seturatnam Ayyar and yet another method for the departments of Education, etc. ; while all the while the Reserved departments will be following some method which will never be the same as those pursued by these Ministers individually. Well, Sir, the opinions I am holding are not well sorted

out for the occasion. This question came up in 1926 by means of a resolution drawing attention to the wisdom of recruiting people to the selection grade from outsiders. Very well, Sir, what the Government have now done is to select outsiders to this selection grade, so far as they have applied this principle without any consideration whatsoever. This is what I said in regard to a motion then under consideration regarding the recruitment of outsiders.

"It is very well for the hon. the Minister to say that he is anxious to introduce fresh blood in the grade of officers. But does he contemplate the logical sequence of the policy he is pursuing? Here are officers—many of them honest and conscientious—who have done work of reliable nature, who have put in long services and who are looking forward anxiously for the time when they can reach to the top of the service. Just when there is a vacancy at the top and when probably they expect to get the appointment, he gets hold of some person who may belong to a high family and who may have high family traditions—he may not show those high traditions in himself—and pitchfork him into that post. But what would be the feeling of the unfortunate man who has been denied this chance just when he was about to get it? It has naturally a very bad effect on the morale of the people. They feel that there is no inducement to work conscientiously. They say, 'Let us make hay while the sun shines. What is the good of being honest? Because honesty does not pay us in this department.' We thought that it used to pay.' I beg the hon. the Minister to reconsider the policy in regard to this matter.

"The hon the Minister then agreed with much of what I said. (A voice: 'Who was then the Minister?') Sir Parasuram Patro was the Minister and he said that the exigencies of the service require that we should introduce fresh blood into the service, due care being given to the claims of those who have rendered good service.

"Sir, I hold definite views in regard to this matter. You must divide the services into three compartments, initial recruitment, then promotion whether it be in the grade itself or outside the grade, and then topmost appointments which must be very few. Sir, many of my colleagues here have no serious objection to any proportion that may be fixed in regard to the initial recruitment at the start. But when the same principle is applied in regard to promotions also in a particular grade, I think, Sir, we must draw a line there. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The House will now adjourn and re-assemble at 11 o'clock to-morrow."

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.